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IX 1963
1

SOCIALIST PARTY
709 G St. N. W. - Washington, D. C.

How to End War

The Next War!

In spite of disarmament conferences, peace pacts, international courts, and the League of Nations, people talk of "The Next War."

The last war did not end war. Others more terrible are in the making. Huge sums of money are being spent by this and other nations for military purposes. There are today 10,000,000 more soldiers under arms than in 1914 and war equipment is five times as great. Every year three-fourths of our taxes pay for old wars and preparations for new ones.

KILLED 1914-1918

The next war would not be confined to armies alone. Men, women, and children would fall victims to the death-dealing explosives, gases, and disease germs hurled down on helpless cities from speeding planes far beyond the reach of defense guns. Neither age nor sex would be spared; whole populations would be wiped out like rats in traps.

"There are now at least two varieties of poison gas against which no mask is any protection," Stuart Chase tells us in an appalling survey. "There are also irritating gases which cause the sufferer to tear off his mask and take a good full breath of the poison gas which has previously been laid. Eight scourges are available for germ bombs: yellow fever, dysentery, diphtheria, malaria, typhus, plague, cholera, and typhoid fever."

There is practically no limit to the power of death-dealing devices now at the service of warring nations.

Since defense against these terrifically efficient weapons is almost impossible, there are just two possible courses open: Peace—or a return to barbarism.

PROPERTY DESTROYED
1914-1918

The germ of modern wars is IMPERIALISM. It is often called "dollar diplomacy." It comes into being in the most advanced industrial countries because a small number of persons through ownership of the big industries and exploitation of the workers get more money than they can put to immediate use. They look for fields for investment where they can get the greatest

20 Years After

1914 — 1934

JX1963
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By JAMES LERNER

Issued by
YOUTH SECTION
American League Against War and Fascism

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War.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS WAR AND PEACE

By
AUGUST CLAESSENS
Instructor,
Rand School of Social Science

Introduction
By
George W. Hartmann
Professor of Psychology
Pennsylvania State College

RAND SCHOOL PRESS
7 East 15th St., New York
1934

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Published by
NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE
Five Cents

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ORGANIZED PACIFISM

By

Fred R. Marvin

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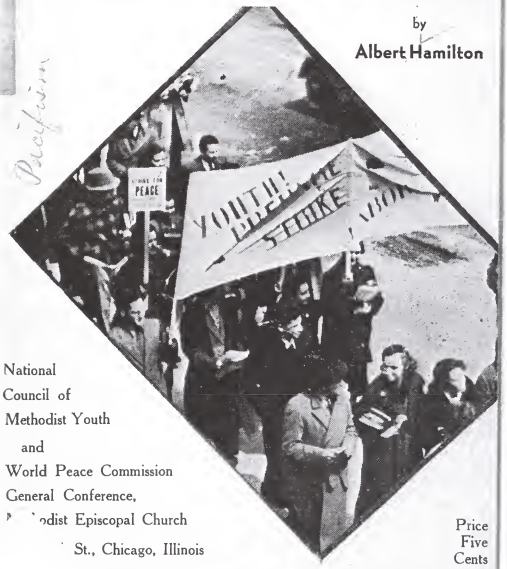
Students against War

by

Albert Hamilton



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and
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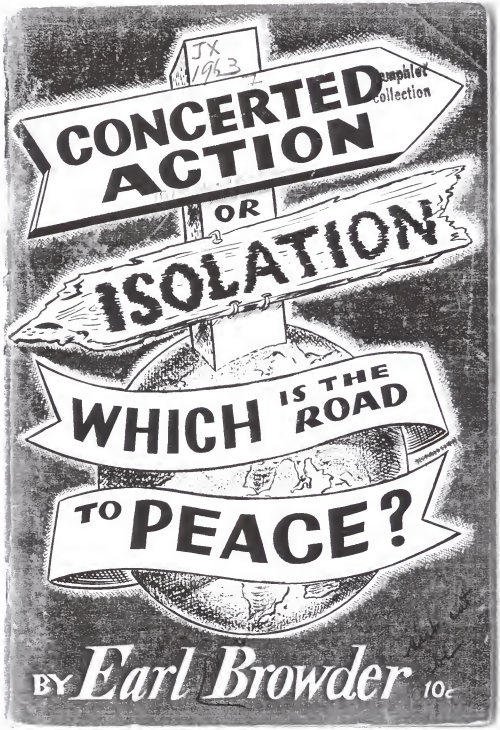
CONCERTED ACTION OR ISOLATION WHICH IS THE ROAD TO PEACE?

BY Earl Browder 10c



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How to Fight

WAR

Isolation
Collective Security
Relentless Class Struggle

?

by
JAMES BURNHAM

Socialist Workers Party
East Side Branch
78 St. Marks Pl.
Forums: ___ Friday

3c

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
and
YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE
(4th Internationalists)

TX 1963

NO MORE WAR!

709 G St. N. W. - Washington, D. C.

DO NOT FORGET

That these were once men like you.

That they died to defend other men's property.

That as long as we have a profit system we will have wars to defend profits.

By not joining in the fight against war you condemn yourself or your children to a fate like this.

WORK FOR PEACE

561

SOCIALIST PARTY, 549 W. Randolph St., Chicago

JX 1963
10

DO YOU WANT ANOTHER WAR?

The masters of America are getting ready for another holocaust—another World War. Three hundred thousand young men are being given semi-military drill in Civilian Conservation Corps, "an achievement," says Harry H. Woodring, Assistant Secretary of War, which "was the first real test of the army's plans for war mobilization." A billion dollars is being spent to increase the size of the United States navy.

The war for which our rulers prepare can be stopped only by the organization of the workers to resist it. The lessons of the last war are so horrible that the workers cannot allow the present drift to war to continue unless they care nothing for their children, their wives, their homes, their lives.

In May, 1917, one month after the United States had declared war, the Socialist party, the only country-wide organization that consistently fought against the war, issued millions of leaflets which warned the workers what would happen. The leaflet is exactly reproduced here.

Thousands of Socialists were then imprisoned. Eugene V. Debs was sentenced to ten years in Atlanta penitentiary. The entire national executive committee of the party was sentenced to twenty years.

Every line of this leaflet is as true today as when it was written, and it has seventeen years of experience to prove its truth.

Proclamation
And War Program

The Socialist Party of the United States in the present grave crisis, solemnly reaffirms its allegiance to the principle of internationalism and working class solidarity the world over, and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the government of the United States.

Modern wars as a rule have been caused by the commercial and financial rivalry and intrigues of the capitalist interests in the different countries. Whether they have been frankly waged as wars of aggression or have been hypocritically represented as wars of "defense," they have always been made by the classes and fought by the masses. Wars bring wealth and power to the ruling classes, and suffering, death and demoralization to the workers.

They breed a sinister spirit of passion, unreason, race hatred and false patriotism. They obscure the struggles of the workers for life, liberty and social justice. They tend to sever the vital bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries, to destroy their organizations and to curtail their civic and political rights and liberties.

The Socialist Party of the United States is unalterably opposed to the system of exploitation and class rule which is upheld and strengthened by military power and sham national patriotism. We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists

TX1963

UNITED STATES UNIT OF SERVICE
11 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

December, 1939

Dear Friend:

During the past five years we have been making a consistent and continuous effort to register in the consciousness of men and women everywhere the idea of active goodwill.

At this holiday season we are making a special effort in the same direction, and we are hereby inviting you to cooperate, to the best of your ability, in the extension of the idea of goodwill. Will you cooperate in this concentrated effort, both objectively and subjectively, and will you, as far as you are able, distribute in your personal and group relations the idea of goodwill and peace, to be expressed both at Christmas and a month later, on Sunday, January 21st, as indicated in the attached message.

As quickly and as consistently as possible the idea can be distributed, by many means - through church services and publications, through local newspaper editorials and mention, through club and organization groups, through one's personal friends; and such widespread distribution of the idea of goodwill at this time will have the desirable effect of relieving the world tension in the consciousness of men and women everywhere.

We shall be happy to receive from you any responsive word which you may be moved to send us, and we shall be happy also to cooperate in any way that may be possible in your efforts to carry forward this proposal of goodwill and world peace.

Sincerely yours,

UNITED STATES UNIT OF SERVICE

12.
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REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR VS. Pacifism

By Alex Bittelman

Price 5¢

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The Challenge of War

An Economic Interpretation

By
NORMAN THOMAS

League for Industrial Democracy
70 Fifth Ave., New York

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Militarism

Preparedness, the Road to Universal Slaughter

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

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WE WANT

TO LIVE!

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16
Pacifism.

THE POSITIVE FAITH OF PACIFISM

EVAN W. THOMAS, M. D.

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GOOD-WILL WORK

The work of the men and women of goodwill should now enter into a more active and practical phase, and this in spite of the critical world situation. No matter what may happen in the world and no matter whether the inevitable triumph of the Forces of Light is temporarily delayed or not, the work of promoting goodwill and of preparing to establish a new world order must go on.

For this reason we are actively promoting the formation of TRIANGLES throughout the world whose purpose is to enable units of three people to work at the expression of goodwill in their homes, in the community and eventually in the world. We have already formed over five hundred Triangles and are most anxious to see the growth of this effort to help.

May I put before you the reasons why this work seems to us so promising and why I am asking your cooperation and your help? Will you give a little time and study carefully the following reasons why we feel this?

1. These Triangles are concerned with the science of right human relations. They are intended to establish goodwill between individuals, groups and nations. Where goodwill exists, every kind of progressive adjustment becomes possible.

2. These Triangles can be formed under all conditions, all circumstances and by people of every religious and political persuasion. They are non-political and non-sectarian and could eventually work in those countries whose governments are against the rule of love and which express no spirit of goodwill. Nevertheless, their peoples are just as anxious for goodwill as is the rest of humanity. This is evidenced by the fact that there are Triangles not only in the nations which form the Allied group, but also in Japan, Italy, and in the countries occupied by Germany. There are only a few Triangles in Germany and they are probably inactive, as the Nazi government would not tolerate their existence. For this the people are not to blame.

3. People living in the German-occupied countries can be reached quite easily by this idea and will immediately go about forming Triangles of goodwill. Organization must necessarily be avoided, but the idea can spread.

4. It is an intensely practical effort because it is based on the belief that it is possible to find three people (who know each other) who will stand together for goodwill, kindness and practical effort between themselves and in their environment. These Triangles are dedicated to the earnest cultivation of happy, impersonal relations and to a determination to let goodwill to others control all thoughts, words and actions.

5. Each Triangle automatically becomes a little power station or focal point of goodwill. Goodwill is the first expression of Christ's command to love one another and is the active principle of peace. There will be no lasting peace until there is enough goodwill in the world to make it possible. We have made the mistake hitherto of working for peace prior to cultivating goodwill. We have put the cart before the horse.

6. Each Triangle can become creative and its members can form three other Triangles, for each person in the Triangle can ask two other individuals to form a Triangle with him. Thus nine people could be brought into cooperation, constituting three Triangles besides the original one. In this way, many hundreds of Triangles can be formed and literally thousands of people begin to practice and spread goodwill. Thus a network of Triangles can spread over the world. The responsibility is distributed and the idea can spread like wildfire and some day set the world ablaze with light, goodwill and love.

7. The work is financially simple because each person who forms a Triangle shoulders the responsibility of communicating with the members of his Triangle and of passing on information. The expense is thus widely distributed and is not heavy on any one person. The only expense incurred of any importance is that of the central office where the list of Triangles and the names and addresses of the members are kept.

JX 1903
18

A CALL TO ACTION

To All Men and Women of Goodwill

> *Every man and woman who does not act has to be saved by someone who does act.*

What Can I Do?

A. I can do all in my power to bring victory to the United Nations of the World in their war against the forces of evil.

1. By helping to make the United States of America a great "Arsenal for Democracy" by every possible means.
2. By actively supporting the cause of establishing "The Four Freedoms": Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Religion, Freedom from Want, Freedom from Fear, for all men everywhere in the world, by every possible means, such as:
   a. Studying the problems of government and social organization necessary to the permanent establishment of these Four Freedoms in my own country and in the world.
   b. Actively advocating organized international cooperation to establish and maintain a permanent world peace based upon the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter.
3. By promoting unity, harmony and cooperation in my nation by always speaking, thinking and acting as a positive focal point of goodwill.
4. By publicly approving and actively supporting and cooperating with all men everywhere who work for these ends.

B. I can find two other people who agree with me in these objectives and unite with them as a triangle of active expression of the will to good, keeping constantly in touch with these two friends and advising the Unit of Service of my action.

C. I can join the thousands of men and women of goodwill all over the world who are now using every day one of the two Great Universal Invocations or Prayers (see enclosed cards).

JX1963
19

Was ist Militarismus?

Den Massen des amerikanischen Volkes ist das Wort Militarismus bis auf die allerneueste Zeit verhältnißmäßig fremd gewesen und auch heute noch vermögen sie seine Bedeutung nicht ganz zu erfassen und folglich auch nicht gebührend zu würdigen. Sie haben wohl gelegentlich von den Militärstaaten Europa's gehört, gewußt, daß dort auch im Frieden große stehende Heere unterhalten werden, worüber sie sich nicht wenig gewundert haben, aber das Wesen des Militarismus ist ihnen ganz fremd geblieben, und so kommt es, daß so viele eingeborene Amerikaner, besonders der jüngeren Generation, in der Einführung des Militarismus in diesem Lande nichts sonderlich Schlimmes, und insbesondere keine Gefahr für die Republik und die Freiheit des Volkes erblicken können, oder wollen. Sie sind enthusiastische Befürworter der falschen Expansion, des Imperialismus, und da dieser nicht ohne Militarismus bestehen kann, so wollen sie den Militarismus als nothwendiges Uebel mit in den Kauf nehmen.

Anders steht es in dieser Sache mit den eingewanderten Bürgern, besonders den Deutsch-Amerikanern. Sie kennen den Militarismus aus eigener Anschauung und wissen was derselbe für ein Volk zu bedeuten hat. Sie wissen, daß die tauglichen jungen Männer der Militärstaaten zum Militärdienste gezwungen werden; daß sie in Deutschland z. B. drei Jahre unter der Fahne dienen müssen, als Reservisten und Landwehrmänner immer noch dienstpflichtig bleiben und jederzeit eingezogen werden können. Sie wissen wie störend dieser Militärdienst auf die Berufsentwickelung der jungen Männer wirkt, die dadurch aus ihrer bürgerlichen Thätigkeit gerissen werden. Sie wissen auch wie schwer oft Eltern und Geschwister, die auf die Hilfe und Unterstützung ihrer Söhne resp. Brüder angewiesen sind, zu leiden haben, während diese ihrer Militärpflicht nachkommen müssen. Gar mancher junge Mann hat sich der verhaßten Militärpflicht durch Auswanderung entzogen; viele Tausende, ja Hunderttausende, haben im Verlaufe der Jahre das alte deutsche Vaterland verlassen, um in der Fremde, weit über dem Ocean, wo der Militär-Moloch noch nicht eingezogen, sich eine neue Heimath zu gründen, wo sie ihre friedlichen Arbeiten verrichten können, ohne einer Aushebung zum Militär entgegensehen zu müssen, dafür aber gern bereit sind, in der Zeit der Gefahr zu den Waffen zu greifen, um das neue Vaterland und seine Ehre zu vertheidigen.

Gewisse im Dienste der republikanischen Partei stehende Deutsch-Amerikaner bestreiten alles Dieses, bestreiten, daß der erzwungene Militärdienst in Friedenszeiten den jungen Männern unangenehm ist, bestreiten, daß er ihnen schadet, lachen über die Behauptung, daß oft Angehörige darunter zu leiden haben, und bestreiten sogar, daß viele Deutsch-Amerikaner sich hier befinden, die sich der Militärpflicht drüben entzogen haben. Sie gehen noch weiter und erklären, daß der Soldat drüben durch den Dienst gebildet wird, Schliff erhält, etc. etc. Kurzum, sie meinen es sei eine ganz vortreffliche Einrichtung, so eine stehende Armee, und damit schenen sie sich wahrhaftig eingubilden auch die Deutsch-Amerikaner für den Militarismus enthusiasmiren zu können!

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Who Are the Peacemakers?

THE NEW YORK PEACE SOCIETY.

Secretary,	President,	Treasurer,
SAMUEL T. DUTTON.	ANDREW CARNEGIE.	ASTOR TRUST CO.

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3 May 11th, 1911.

Mr. Morris Hillquit,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

A Committee of the New York Peace Society has been appointed for the purpose of submitting nominations for the officers and Directors for the Annual Meeting to be held at the Hotel Astor on next Tuesday, and desires me to inquire whether or not you would be willing to accept nomination as Director, in case it should be offered.. While meetings of the full Board are not held frequently, yet, the Peace Society being incorporated, we feel that we must have a Board which, so far as possible, will attend meetings when they are called and assume the responsibility which naturally falls upon a Board of Directors. The growing interest in the peace movement, and the prominence of the New York Society, make it very desirable also that its Directors shall be men who are willing to inform themselves on the subject with which it deals, so that the acts of the Board may be such as to give the society rightful leadership in this important field. Hoping that we may hear favorably from you at an early date, I am

Very truly yours,
W. H. SHORT,
Executive Secretary.

New York, June 12th, 1911.

Mr. W. H. Short,
Executive Secretary, New York Peace Society,
507 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Dear Sir:

Temporary absence from the city and an accumulation of work of all kinds have prevented me from answering your kind letter at an earlier date.

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TENTATIVE PROGRAM

for the

First American Conference on Democracy and Terms of Peace

to be held at the

HOLLAND HOUSE

Fifth Avenue and Thirtieth Street

New York City, May 30 and 31, 1917

A CALL TO ACTION

It is now less than six weeks since the United States entered the World War. In that short space of time the grip of militarist hysteria has fastened itself upon the country; conscription is being placed upon our statute books; the pernicious "gag" bill is about to be forced through Congress; standards to safeguard labor, carefully built up through years, have been swept aside; the right of free speech has been assailed; halls have been closed against public discussion, meetings broken up, speakers arrested—and now the danger of a permanent universal military training law confronts us.

While all this military organization is going on in America, rumors of peace come to us from Germany, Austria, Italy and Russia. Shall it be said that we, the latest to enter the war, are less concerned about the early establishment of a peace based on justice for all?

We call on all American citizens to unite with us in the First American Conference on Democracy and Terms of Peace, at the Holland House, on May 30 and 31, to discuss how best we can aid our government in bringing to ourselves and the world a speedy, righteous and enduring peace.

May 7, 1917.

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Alternatives to War

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Findings of the

UNOFFICIAL COMMISSION

which met at the

Holland House, New York City, March 19–24, 1917

"to devise ways and means of a peaceful solution
of our international crisis"

Published by
The Emergency Peace Federation
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NEW YORK CITY

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The AMERICAN SOCIALISTS AND THE WAR

A Documentary History of the Attitude of the Socialist Party toward War and Militarism Since the Outbreak of the Great War.

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Edited by

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG
Director, Department of Labor Research, Rand School of Social Science

With an Introduction by

MORRIS HILLQUIT
International Secretary, Socialist Party

Published by
THE RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
New York City
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WHAT PRICE PEACE?

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Issued January, 1925

Christianity and World Problems:

DOLLARS AND WORLD PEACE

A CONSIDERATION OF NATIONALISM INDUSTRIALISM AND IMPERIALISM

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Editor, The World Tomorrow

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THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND WORLD PEACE

An analysis of the replies from 301 leaders of public opinion to eight questions concerning the meaning and significance of this famous doctrine

BY
KIRBY PAGE
EDITOR, *The World Tomorrow*

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BY M. LITVINOFF

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THE WORLD CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

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2,196 Delegates from 27 Countries
representing
30,000,000 people

Report on the Congress
Opening Address by Romain Rolland
and the
MANIFESTO
adopted at AMSTERDAM
August 27-29, 1932

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THIS PUBLICATION MUST NOT BE
MARKED IN ANY MANNER EXCEPT
WHERE FILE NUMBERS ARE.

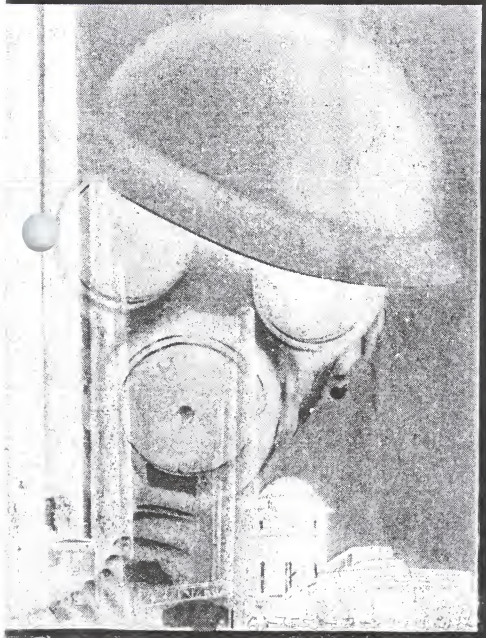
Published by the
American Committee for Struggle Against War
104 Fifth Avenue, Room 1811
New York, N. Y.

Five Cents

CALL

TO THE

U. S. CONGRESS AGAINST WAR



Labor Day Week-End September 1—4, 1933

New York City

National Organizing Committee
U. S. Congress Against War
104 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

"We call every organization to form a united front and we appeal to every individual sincerely opposed to war to begin immediately the work of building this mighty rampart against the forces of war."

—*U. S. Congress Call*

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MANIFESTO AND PROGRAM

of the

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST
WAR AND FASCISM

Adopted at U. S. Congress Against War
New York City, Sept. 29-Oct. 1, 1933

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Appeal to the Working Men and Women of America:

To All Victims of War:

The black cloud of imperialist war hangs over the world. The peoples must arouse themselves and take immediate action against the wars now going on in the Far East and Latin America, against intervention in Cuba, against the increasing preparations for war, and against the growing danger of a new world war.

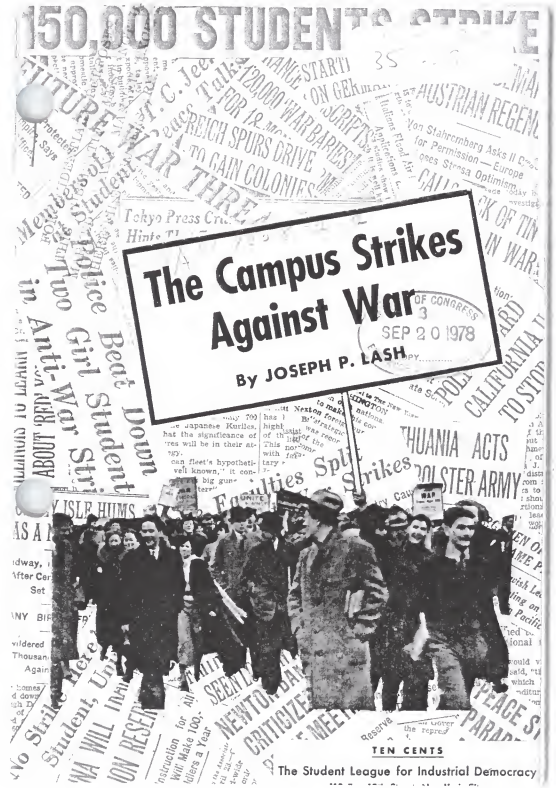
After ten years of futility, the World Disarmament Conference is meeting to perform once more the grim comedy of promises, to screen the actions of the imperialist governments which are preparing, more intensively than ever before in history, for a new war. The Four Power Pact is already exposed as nothing but a new manoeuver for position in the coming war between the imperialist rivals, and an attempt to establish a united imperialist front against the Soviet Union. The rise of Fascism in Europe and especially in Germany, and the sharpened aggressive policy of Japanese militarism, have brought all the imperialist antagonisms to the breaking point and greatly increased the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The greatest naval race in history is now on among the United States, England and Japan. The British-American antagonism is being fought out in Latin-America already by open war--the so-called local wars being in reality struggles between these imperialist powers. The presence of thirty American warships in Cuban waters is itself an act of war against the Cuban revolution. The collapse of the World Economic Conference revealed only too clearly that the great powers are unable and unwilling to solve the basic international problems by peaceful means and that they will resort to a new imperialist war in an attempt to divert the attention of the masses from their misery and as the only capitalist way out of the crisis.

FASCISM BREEDS WAR

The rapid rise of Fascism is closely related to the increasing war danger. Fascism means forced labor, militarization lower standards of living, and the accentuation of national hatreds and chauvinist incitements as instruments for the "moral" preparation for war. It sets the people of one country against the people of another, and exploits the internal racial and national groups within each country in order to prevent them from uniting in joint action to solve their common problems.

Positive War Prevention

By ALPHONSE H. KURSHEEDT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BY ALDOUS HUXLEY

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By LOUISE LE[IGHT

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
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8

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WAR

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PUBLICATION FILE

By

RALPH TOWNSEND

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SOVIET UNION

AND THE

PEACE FRONT

By V. M. MOLOTOV

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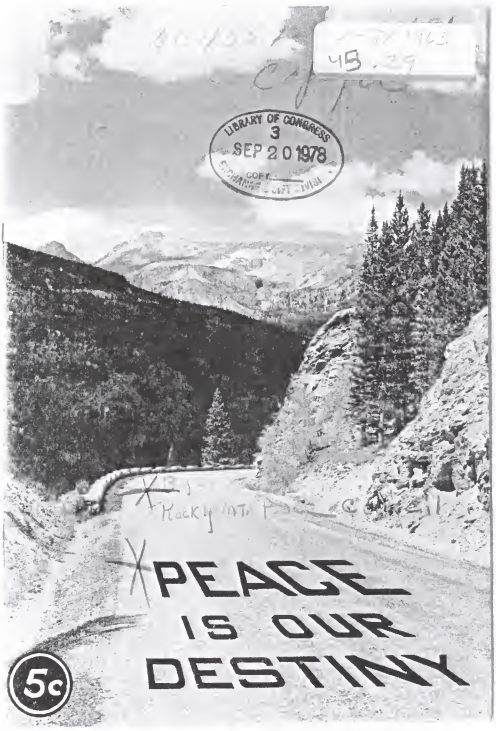

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ALBANY PEACE ACTION COUNCIL

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Scott K. Gray
Executive Secretary
294 New Scotland Avenue
Albany, New York

January 21, 1941

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EXCHANGE & GIFT DIVISION

Because of America's increasing involvement in the present war, the Albany Peace Action Council has decided to call an EMERGENCY PEACE CONFERENCE, inviting all those in the Capital District - Schenectady, Troy, Hudson, and Albany - interested in keeping America from the misery and destruction raging in Europe and Africa.

This conference will be held February 2, 1941 at the Fourth Presbyterian Church on North Pearl Street in Albany at 2 P. M. We cordially invite you and members of your organization to attend.

We hope that through this conference we shall be able not only to discuss the situation facing us today, but also to decide upon a course of action which would effectively organize the peace sentiments of our people.

The present emergency is a very real one. As Senator Wheeler has stated, we are being dragged into war not step by step, but leap by leap. The greatest leap so far is the proposed bill known as the "Lend-Lease" bill. This bill would bring war and dictatorship at the same time. In order to prevent this, in order to defend our American Democratic Way of Life , we feel that positive and immediate action must be taken. We feel that the American people have come to realize what the issues are, what is at stake, and that they want a program which will clearly and unmistakably demonstrate their desire for peace to our Congressmen and our President, and which will carry that desire into action.

A successful and well-attended peace conference can bring to the Capital District a new and powerful peace movement, like those springing up all over America. Let us know if you can attend the conference; tell others.

It is not too late. The people of our country can yet save America from the "Blackout of Peace and Democracy".

Albany Peace Action Council

Scott K Gray

Scott K. Gray
Executive Secretary

X-JX 1963
47 .Z9

Religion and War

By Dr. Harry F. Ward

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Published by the National Religious Committee of
The American Peace Mobilization

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA PEACE COUNCIL

61-1559-2 1374

701 Investment Building
April 11, 1941

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Dear Friend:

Shall it be war or shall it be peace? Are we to live as free men ~~or as~~ subjects of a dictatorship? Shall our families have security or want and privation? These are the questions facing the American people today.

Two specific issues in the war drive of our Administration call for immediate action. They are: the convoying of U.S. ships and anti-strike legislation. The American Peace Mobilization therefore issues the following resolutions and we call upon all friends of peace, liberty and the common welfare to act accordingly.

WHEREAS: It has been historically proven that the convoying of ships in 1917 was the final step toward armed belligerency, and

WHEREAS: All Americans recognize that armed convoys and the transferring of merchant ships to Great Britain present an imminent danger of involvement in World War #2, and

WHEREAS: The Administrative circles are attempting to risk such involvement despite the fact that the American people have shown time and time again in various public opinion polls and demonstrations that they are unalterably opposed to any military adventures abroad, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the Western Pennsylvania Peace Council, reflecting the will of the majority, hereby declares that it opposes unconditionally any law, decree or Presidential fiat which permits American merchant ships and seamen to enter non-neutral waters.

WHEREAS: The right to strike which is the workingman's only protection against the enemies of labor, faces the threats and penalties of the electric chair and penitentiary sentences, and

WHEREAS: Congress and the legislative bodies of the various states seek to halt the organization of the unorganized and to weaken the trade union movement by illegalizing all strikes and attempts on the part of the workers to organize themselves into unions of their own choice, and

WHEREAS: This anti-labor onslaught is only the opening wedge in a drive to wipe out the trade union movement and the back bone of the peace sentiment, to crush the just demands for increases in wages to meet the ever increasing cost of living, and to wipe out all progressive social legislation, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the Western Pennsylvania Peace Council hereby launches a campaign wherein we call upon the people of Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania to rally to the cause of domestic peace and to protect the democratic rights that labor has achieved.

We invite you and/or your organization to join with us in this campaign against convoys and anti-labor legislation. Organizations - go on record as being opposed to the convoying of ships. Defend the right to strike. Send the enclosed post cards of protest to President Roosevelt, White House, Washington, D.C. Begin now by getting your organization and your friends to deluge the Capitol with post cards of protest. Send to this office for bulk supplies of such cards. ACT NOW!

Sincerely yours,
THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA PEACE COUNCIL

Ted Settlemyer, Chairman

SEP 18 1978

MAGNIFICAT PUBLICATION 18

CHRISTIANS and WORLD PEACE

By STANLEY EVANS

Published by the Society of Socialist Clergy and Ministers

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Revolutionary Workers' League of U. S.
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PEACE

OR

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by EUGENE DENNIS

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A REPORT FOR PEACE

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Informal

the Road to Peace

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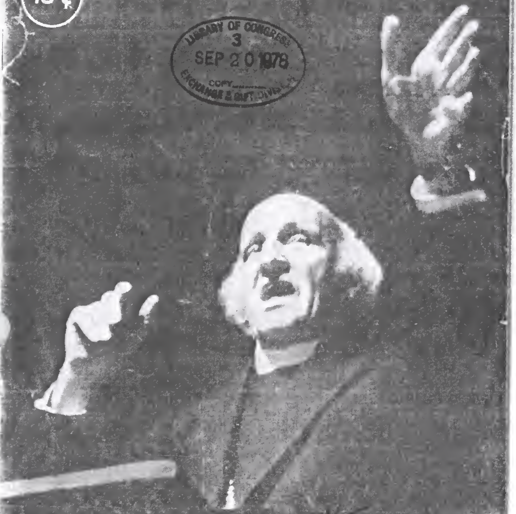

THE VERY REVEREND HEWLETT JOHNSON,
DEAN OF CANTERBURY

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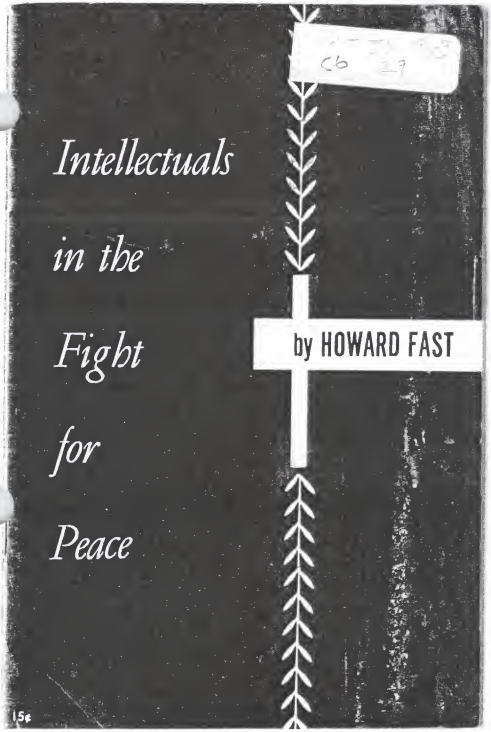
CALL TO THE American Continental Congress for PEACE

MEXICO CITY
Sept. 5 – Sept. 10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by HOWARD FAST
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Material for Classes and Study Groups;
for Speakers, Instructors and Active Workers
in the Fight for Peace

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WHO WANTS WAR?

HOW THE SOVIET UNION BUILDS FOR PEACE

An Eye-Witness Report by
JOSEPH CLARK

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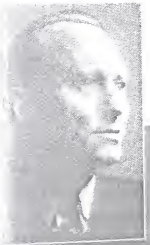
Fight for Peace -



SEP 10 1975

-as for Life!

Tim Buck

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CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

Vienna, December 12th - 19th, 1952

60

DOCUMENTS

Documents of Congress of The Peoples For Peace

Only the Peoples...

Having won a truce in Korea, the peoples of the world must exert unceasing effort to win the peace in the coming political negotiations

by **FREDERICK V. FIELD**

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THE PEOPLE of the world have won a truce in Korea. They have brought such pressure to bear upon those groups which wanted the war to continue that their will, the people's will, prevailed. This is a great victory. It is a step forward on the long and difficult road to peace. Our rejoicing is not tarnished by the half-heartedness and foreboding warnings with which the truce was officially greeted by the top leaders of our nation.

The people of the world can, and must, now win the further steps towards peace which are to be fought for in the forthcoming political negotiations.

Americans of all walks of life shared in the partial victory that has been won. It was their overwhelming sentiment, together with that of the masses throughout the world, which made it mandatory for President Eisenhower to overrule the powerful pro-war elements in his administration and in the military over the cease-fire issue.

Pressure from the people, pressure for peace, for negotiation, pressure against war, against diplomatic blackmail, pressure for mere moral decency in human relations, pressure that is organized and clear in its purposes—only such pressure can force any kind of real settlement of the Korean issue. Such pressure won the armistice. It must now organize itself to win the political negotiations.

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Senator Sparkman, a Democrat who has from time to time spoken out mildly against the pro-fascist elements among the Republicans, said a few weeks ago that in his opinion if a Korean truce finally became effective "our troubles will only have started." This idea was the theme of the grudging statements made by Dulles, Clark, Taylor and others on the historic occasion of the cease-fire agreement. To them, of course, the trouble will come from the North Koreans and the Chinese. But this is not so. The trouble will come, as it has throughout the truce negotiations, from the American side. It will come from the powerful minority within this country for whom General Van Fleet spoke when he said "There had to be a Korea, either here or somewhere else in the world. There had to be a Korea to put our defense in good shape."

The key to a prevailing peace in Korea, as in other parts of the world, lies in the fine slogan put forward

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PROFESSOR
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OPENING ADDRESS

VIENNA SESSION OF THE WORLD
COUNCIL OF PEACE
NOVEMBER 23rd-28th, 1953

61-12

ILYA EHRENBURG

SPEECH

DELIVERED TO THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

VIENNA SESSION, NOVEMBER 23rd-28th, 1953

FOR MORE INFORMATION
Compliments of the Cooperative Forum
1110 F St. N.W. Wash. D. C.

TURNING POINT TOWARD PEACE

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James P. Warburg

A NON-PARTISAN STUDY TO HELP THE INDEPENDENT VOTER IN SUPPORTING A POSITIVE AMERICAN PROGRAM FOR PEACE

CONTENTS

"Fresh from the People"

The Fleshless Bones of Bipartisan Policy

Building Toward Peace in the Atomic Age

Food, Fuel and Power

Know-how and Capital

Trade Among Nations

Colonialism—The Challenge of Bandung

The United States, the United Nations and Disarmament

Background of Today's Tensions

Most Likely Causes of World War III

Preventive Action in Europe

Preventive Action in Asia

Relaxing Tensions in the Uncommitted Areas

Responsibility in an Election Year

25 Vanderbilt Ave. New York City

HOW THE RUSSIANS SEE THE FUTURE!

61-7559
SEP 20 1978

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
Mon., Jan. 28, 1952 ★

ANSWER TO COLLIER'S

Russ View Future —If Allies Accept Their Peace Plan

West Europe Thrives Again, Panic Reigns in Wall Street

BY WILLIAM H. STONEMAN
Daily News Foreign Service

PARIS—Western Europeans now are being regaled with Russia's answer to the Oct. 27 issue of Collier's magazine in which 20 "name" writers described an imaginary war between the United States and the Soviet Union in ultra-realistic terms.

That hair-raising effort by Louis Ruppel, editor of Collier's caused a general wave of resentment in the countries of Western Europe.

The Collier's stories encouraged the feeling of many ordinary citizens that the United States really was planning a war against Russia.

• • •

IN AN EFFORT to make the most of this feeling the Soviet magazine New Times on Jan. 1 printed a series of imaginary dispatches describing what the world would be like four years from now if the nations joined in banning the atomic bomb and signing the five power peace pact that is now being hawked around the United Nations by Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky.

The New Times pieces are being reprinted by Communist and fellow-traveler newspapers and magazines throughout Western Europe. They are making a big impression.

The Collier's articles were supposed to be "historical documents" assembled in 1960. They dealt with a war that began on May 10, 1952, and lasted through 32 months of "unlimited" catastrophe for the human race.

• • •

THE NEW TIMES stories are written as of Jan. 1, 1956, on the assumption that the United Nations had reached agreement on banning the bomb and that the Big Five had signed a peace pact in December, 1952.

• • •

AMONG THE articles printed by the New Times and now being reprinted by A[illegible] rest of the [illegible] New Times offering.

But the fact remains that papers in Norway, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Holland, Denmark and Italy are all printing excerpts from the New Times and that they contrast violently with the bloodthirsty items reprinted from Collier's a mere 10 weeks before.

NTAINING ACTUAL
OTOGRAPHIC REPRINTS OF
E ENTIRE SERIES OF ARTICLES
FERRED TO IN THIS SENSATIONAL
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SSIANS ARE EXPECTING!

From: American Nobel Center
740 West End Avenue, N.Y.
Tel. Ri9-0953

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EXCHANGE AND GIFT DIVISION

For Immediate Release

The American Nobel Center will hold a forum discussion on "Education for Peace" at the Women's International Exposition, Madison Square Garden, at 5:00 P.M., Wednesday, November 14th. Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Director of the Church Peace Union, will be moderator and representatives of eight organizations exhibiting at the American Nobel Center's booth at the exposition will join in the discussion. Mrs. Hjordis Swenson, chairman of the Center, will be the chairman.

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The participating organizations will be represented by the following speakers: Marie Ragonetti for the American Association for the United Nations, Inc.; Yaroslav J. Chyz for the Common Council for American Unity; Mary O. Lombard for the East and West Association; Michael Streit for the Free World Association; Dr. Rachel Du Bois for the Intercultural Education Workshop; Miriam Stuart for the Society for the Prevention of World War Three; Dr. Carl Herman Voss for the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches; and Mrs. Gerda Schairer for the World Christmas Festival.

The American Nobel Center's booth will be open throughout the exposition, from Tuesday, November 13th through Sunday, November 18th, from noon untill 11:00 P.M.

American Association for the United Nations, Inc.
45 East 65th Street, N.Y.C.

The American Association for the United Nations, a nation-wide membership organization, is devoted exclusively to a program of study and popular education on the United Nations and its related agencies. The Association's aim is three-fold: 1. Promote popular study of the Charter and the specialized agencies; 2. To build up public opinion in support of a foreign policy to make effective our membership in the United Nations; 3. To study and advise on ways the Charter can be improved and expanded to meet the changing needs of this changing world.

Through national headquarters, fifteen regional offices, and

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TENTATIVE

POLITICAL PLATFORM OF

The "New Economics and World Peace Party"

As Based On The Declaration That

THE PROBLEM OF WORLD PEACE AND PROSPERITY IS A MONEY PROBLEM.

The following political platform of the New Economics and World Peace Party has been formulated out of and in harmony with the so-called "Martians Plan for World Peace and Prosperity." This plan is the culmination of more than thirty years uninterrupted study and research by members of the American Society of Martians into the causes of warfare between nations, of constantly increasing national indebtedness, of currency and industrial disturbances, of poverty, crime, etc. The principal contention in the Martians' plan is that the problem of world peace and prosperity is a money problem. This contention is used both as the text and foundation of the Party platform which is as follows:

We, the New Economics and World Peace Party, unequivocally declare that the root causes of military warfare and of practically all social and economic troubles which so widely prevail throughout the civilized world arise out of the present privately controlled money, credit and banking systems. These systems are notoriously unstable, intricate and confusing. Taken as a whole, they form a complex of values impossible for the average mind to understand. All are fraudulently defective and even more fraudulently manipulated by a group of international bankers and gold-brokers which controls and deliberately sustains these dishonest systems, systems which inflict monstrous injustices upon all classes of business, agricultural and labor interets.

We are contending that with an honest monetary system in general operation, of decimal denominations of the unit 100, uuiversally stabilized, governmental controlled and operated, a virtual utopian social and industrial order would not be an idle dream but a practical possibility. In other words, we contend that to establish such a monetary system, conducted in the interests of nations would prove to be the greatest blessing making for world peace and prosperity ever bestowed upon the human race.

Future world peace, human progress and prosperity absolutely depends upon a substantial change in the world's monetary systems. This change is imperative and must take place before world financial and industrial conditions can become materially improved, and before universal good will and co-operation between nations can be assured.

We declare that the creation of money and control of credit and banking are natural governmental prerogatives. Therefore, in the interest of world peace and prosperity, we demand that all money-creating, credit and banking powers be taken out of private control to be exercised solely by governments in the interest of their respective nations and peoples.

If at this point the question is raised as to what right have we as American citizens to demand that other governments than our own comply with our request for the general nationalization of monetary and banking powers, our answer is, first: That citizens of any country are also citizens of the world and possess the inherent right to demand that world peace be established by any means which they believe such object can be attained. Second: That the political and religious creed of the American Society of Martians is that of Thomas Paine, who said: "The world is my country and to do good is my religion."

Had sovereign governments in the past exercised their transcendent prerogative—the right to coin and issue money and control its national functions—there would have been no World War, no twenty million war victims, no Versailles treaty, no Dawes plan, no war debts,—debts which have resulted in binding some 500 million business men, farmers, workers and their posterity in financial bondage to a private Money Oligarchy for several generations, if not in perpetuity.

The story so widely and persistently circulated that Germany was solely guilty of the World War is a damnable falsehood which imperatively needs to be wiped out and the victim cleared of the charge. Germany's admission of guilt and signing of the Versailles treaty, as every well-informed man knows, were done for the purpose of saving Germany from ruthless invasion by her enemies. As a matter of truth and fairness, none of the nations were primarily responsible for the war.

It is universally admitted that the surface causes of the Great war were the prevailing furious competition between nations for supremacy in commerce and industry; the fight for markets, resources and trade routes; the ambition to expand, to exploit and undersell. Though these are the generally admitted visible causes of the war, yet they do not constitute the invisible or root causes of the conflict. The root causes of the war was the desire of a certain class of men and institutions to make billions in money by creating vast debts.

One of America's most prominent citizens spoke the truth when he said. "War comes from a source beyond

YOU

CAN'T WIN IN WAR

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR

PEOPLES PEACE COMMITTEE OF CLEVELAND
A Program of Community Discussion and Action
Secretarial Offices • 807 Prospect-Fourth Building • Phone MAin 6086

PROGRESS REPORT

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We are off to a good start.

As you know, the Peoples Peace Committee of Cleveland is attempting to bring about a community-wide discussion of the many issues of a peoples peace.

We began with an Institute at Cleveland College on June 20th, and the response to that event was warm and enthusiastic.

. . . . . Very close to 400 attended the afternoon and evening sessions. Of these,

. . . . . 115 volunteered to enlist their organizations in the fall program.

. . . . . 57 more volunteered to help organize new discussion groups.

. . . . . 107 promised to enroll as discussion leaders.

. . . . . 128 agreed to be members of leadership training groups with other discussion leaders.

. . . . . 40 said they would interest other people in volunteering for discussion leadership.

. . . . . 49 pledged their time for telephone work, and 30 for office work.

We think that is a good start, but we would like to improve on it. And so we are sending you this report, inviting your further cooperation.

On the next page we are asking you carefully to fill out and return to us a check sheet indicating your willingness to help in this program, so vital to everyone.

On the 3rd and 4th pages are statements explaining the financial needs and giving a brief synopsis of the total program. Your careful reading of these also will be greatly appreciated.

Faithfully yours,

Allen Y. King

Charles F. MacLennan

Judge Daniel E. Morgan, General Chairman • Cyril J. Bath, Treasurer • Charles F. MacLennan, Executive Secretary

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Allen Y. King, Chairman • Judge Perry B. Jackson, Vice-Chairman

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Revolutionary Policy Alone Can Defeat Imperialist War

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Statement of the National Committee, Workers Party, U.S.

1. The armies of Italian Fascism, after months of deliberate preparation, have now launched their attack upon the Ethiopian peoples. Driven by the intolerable strains of internal social and economic contradictions, Mussolini and the Italian bourgeoisie seek a solution in open imperialist aggression against the last of the independent nations of Africa.

2. The outbreak of war in Africa demonstrates that the conflicts of world imperialism have reached the stage of armed struggle for a re-making of boundaries, and a re-division of territories and colonial possessions. Though the Italian campaign in Ethiopia may not lead immediately and directly to a world struggle of the imperialist powers, this delay can prove no more than temporary. THE WAR IN ETHIOPIA MUST BE UNDERSTOOD AS THE PRELUDE TO THE NEW IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR.

Expose the Bandit League

3. In the preparation for the Italian seizure of Ethiopia, the League of Nations has once more demonstrated beyond any possible doubt its true role. The League is not in any sense whatever "the defender of peace." It is the legal and hypocritical cover for the manuvering of the dominant imperialist powers. Since Ethiopia first invoked League assistance in December, 1934, the negotiations have served to permit uninterrupted preparation for the war by Italy, and to deter defensive preparation by Ethiopia. The League has been utilized above all to serve the ends of British imperialism. Behind its cover, the agents of Great Britain, France and Italy have haggled over the price in terms of treaties, guarantees, protection, and territories, which each was willing to pay to preserve its own interests. The threat of League sanctions has been made not to save Ethiopia—which the League report itself offered to sacrifice—but to safeguard British colonial possessions and lines of communication, and to try to close the opening for Germany in Central Europe. The League of Nations is the agency, not of peace, but of imperialist aggression.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR DEMANDS THE UNREMITTING EXPOSURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

4. No less than the European powers is United States imperialism bound by the iron chain of cause and effect to the events in Africa and to the new world conflict which they herald. The sentimental dream of U. S. isolation, Roosevelt's promises that the U. S. will remain "free and untangled," have no more force than the unctuous phrases of Wilson in 1916. The U. S. will, on the contrary, play the dominant and decisive role in the new imperialist struggle. Behind its pacifist covering, the Roosevelt government is pouring more funds into its war machine than any other nation in the world. Both navy and army are constructed on a purely offensive strategic basis. The U. S. bourgeoisie, waiting and preparing, expects to intervene in the later stages of the world struggle, when the other powers are mutually exhausted, to achieve the world domination of U. S. finance-capital.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR IS ABOVE ALL THE STRUGGLE AGAINST U. S. IMPERIALISM.

Against Stalinist Betrayal

5. THE U.S.S.R. cannot avoid implication in the world conflict. The very life of the workers' state is threatened by the approach of war. A central task of the struggle against imperialist war is the defense of the U.S.S.R. But, in the last analysis, this defense can be

61-1977-2-1874
70.27
SEP 1 1978

All Aboard

THE PEACE EXPRESS

American People's Meeting

APRIL 5-6, NEW YORK CITY

To Organize Against War, making effective the tremendous anti-war sentiment of the American people to build a powerful organization for Peace, Liberty, and the Common Welfare.

At the Foot of the "Great Tri-Boro Bridge", 30,000 people will pack the Stadium to greet the delegates of the American people, from mine, mill, factory, shop, farm, and office. A great cement horseshoe, gala with the flags of the forty-eight states and the Union, jammed with people come to listen to Reverend Thompson's keynote speech, to Paul Robeson, Earl Robinson, and the American People's Chorus—to listen and to stage the greatest fighting demonstration for peace in our country's history.

Then it's "On to Washington" on Monday, April 7. State and regional delegations will meet Saturday to choose their representatives, and make plans for the monster protest to Capitol Hill, when the administration will be given a first-hand chance to find out what the American people really think about war!

71
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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HOW *can the* KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR CONGRESS *succeed?*

People said, "To succeed, the peace organizations ought to get together."

SO THEY DID! At a Memorial Day Anti-War Congress in Washington, D. C. in May, 1938, nationally known peace leaders, educators, youth, trade-union, farm, women, and church leaders launched the KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR CONGRESS. It was the logical successor to the Emergency Peace Campaign of 1936-38.

The national peace organizations cooperating in the Keep America Out of War Congress are:

Cooperating Organizations	Represented by
American Friends Service Committee (Peace Section)	Ray Newton
Fellowship of Reconciliation - - - - - -	A. J. Muste
National Council for Prevention of War - - - -	Frederick J. Libby
War Resisters League - - - - - -	Abraham Kaufman
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom	Dorothy Detzer
World Peace Commission of the Methodist Church	Charles F. Boss, Jr.
World Peaceways - - - - - - - - -	J. Max Wels

Its National Chairman is John T. Flynn, well-known economist, author, and financial columnist. The National Governing Committee is composed of representatives of all the cooperating organizations plus thirteen members elected by the National Anti-War Congress.

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The Basis for a Just Peace

SOME PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

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Preamble.

The following points are suggested as a basis of discussion (when the appropriate moment arrives) between the belligerent Powers. They would, of course, be put forward after consultation between the Allies themselves.

We regard the proposal for effective guarantees of permanent peace (4) as exceeding all other points in importance; and we recognize that this is mainly dependent on the goodwill of the nations and their Governments.

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Basis of Discussion between Belligerents.

(1) Successful Invasion should not of itself justify Annexation.

(*a*) Restoration of independence of Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro. Full compensation to Belgium.

(*b*) Restoration of territories invaded by both sides subject to any readjustment under (2) (*a*). This to involve the restoration to Germany of her colonial territories or an equivalent.

(2) Reasonable satisfaction of:

(*a*) Demands for the application of the principle of nationality in Europe, by readjustment of frontiers, autonomy or other solution.

(*b*) Demands of the Central Powers and other European States for increased economic opportunity in economically undeveloped countries.

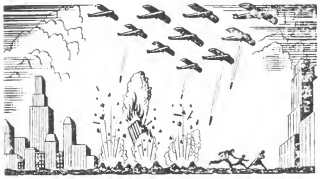
(3) Widest possible application of the principle of the Open Door.

(4) Acceptance by both sides of effective guarantees against war on land or sea by the establishment of a permanent system for the pacific settlement of all international disputes. Such a system should involve limitation of armaments.

(5) Reference to a Conference of belligerents and neutrals, or to permanent Commissions, of the detailed working out of the above on the basis of the principles agreed to by the belligerents.

*** Address, Hon. Sec., 3, Mayfield Road, Tunbridge Wells.

THE MENACE OF A NEW WORLD WAR



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UNITY AND PEACE

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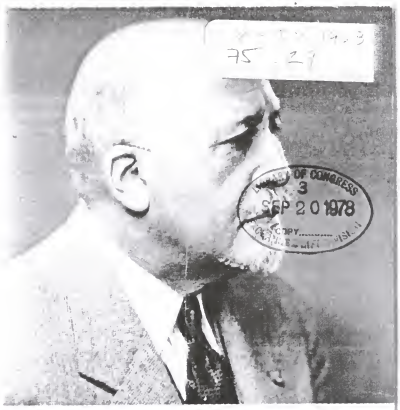
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HOW WOULD YOU PREVENT FUTURE WARS?

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I was asked by the Institute of Public Opinion to outline my suggestions for preventing future wars. These are my recommendations—visionary, I admit, but I am afraid nothing short of them will unite the world and eliminate war.

By pulpit, forum, newspaper, magazine, stage and radio, educate the human race for peace by teaching world cooperation—social, political and economic. Amend existing national constitutions by democratic procedure, i.e., by popular vote.

Survey world needs and world resources. Pool world brains, inventions, discoveries, energy, land and raw materials for world production and consumption. Since power machinery makes *abundance for all* possible now for the first time in the history of the world, plan an abundance economy limited only by rational conservation policies.

Eliminate the profit motive because the competition it sets up among men and nations is the principal cause of world strife. Discontinue the age-old practice of buying and selling, and instead, ration commodities by the use of certificates or stamps issued by the world government to be cancelled when used. To end bribery, graft, gambling, stealing, exploitation and extortion, make the certificates so personalized that they would be as non-transferable as driving permits.

Balance production and consumption by measuring both in terms of exact units of energy, rather than by fluctuating dollars and cents. Let the world government issue no more energy-certificates than there are concurrently goods available for filling the world's needs.

Grant world citizenship to people of good will only—*i.e.*, to those who are willing to cooperate with hand and head to raise the standard of living for *all*. Issue world energy-certificates to no others.

Do you ask what to do with people who refuse to work? The right kind of education would reduce their number tremendously. The incorrigibles should receive the necessities of existence only and not the abundance of good things that could and should be enjoyed by all people of good will.

MININE FROST RANDS.

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What they say about .

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with a foreword by Lt.-Colonel Arthur Osburn, D.S.O.

to broadcast A SUPPRESSED ... omen - especially the mothers ... he minds of their sons are murdered ... bodies are. We shall never have ... ergy to deal with war-makers as we ... murderers and vermin until we understand ... - which makes use of the finest passions ... ng men - poisons them in doing it. War ... fine things to foul uses - heroism dies of ... and corruption feeds on it. I cannot ... elieve that even the stupidest and most callous ... of women will read this Speech without horror.

Storm Jameson

... most telling thing I can say ... ould be:- "Any man who can sing the praises of patriotism after reading this terrible document ... ust be either a criminal or a ... tic."

Yours sincerely,

Beverley Nichols

... valuable ... ... get ... have ... for ... and ... lation. If it is ... If it were ... for ...

Laurence Housman

... any useful contribution ... of actual warfare

H.G. Wells

... llionaire, I would buy ... phlet and distribute t... inhabitants of this count... I should make an Order in Counc... ... nal offence not to have read and be able to pass an examination in the contents of the pamphlet. ~~Since I am neither of these things, I should,~~ (I should) If I were a brave man, undertake the distribution of the pamphlet to everybody that I happened to meet in the street, making a special point of presenting copies to the young. As I am none of these things, I can only hope ... somebody who has more money, authority and plu... have will undertake the task of bringing ... to ~~the~~ notice of ~~people~~ ... The young (and rubbing their noses in it) ...

... ours sincerely, Cyril Joad

... are said to be in favour of war. War books and ... films are even said to allure them with the enticement of adventure. If this is so, it is because the films and books are not made horrible enough, the censor not allowing us to see what Governments order us to do. This pamphlet is realistic, ~~without being~~ horrible - so much so, that I defy any young person to feel that war is either glamorous or alluring after reading it."

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Who Leads for Peace and Disarmament?

By Clarence P. Oakes

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This pamphlet is intended for the attention of:

1. Students and others interested in various peace action movements.
2. School authorities and parents.
3. School and local newspapers.
4. Officials of patriotic organizations.
5. Officers and members of radical school organizations.
6. Officers and members of organizations opposing school radicals.

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The purpose of this pamphlet is to give genuine peace workers definite information and tests which may help them to guard against communist penetration and perversion of sincere peace action.

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A Statesmanship of Peace: If Not War, Then What? Spain – and the Next War!

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by

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Published by
THE WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
171 WEST 12th STREET
NEW YORK CITY
1929

THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL
For Democracy and Peace

HOW IT STARTED

The idea of the People's Council grew out of the First American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace, held in New York on May 30 and 31. On the afternoon of May 31, the Conference elected an Organizing Committee which was instructed "to organize a permanent delegated People's Council from all sympathetic groups, to give immediate and permanent effect to the resolutions of the First American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace." When the plans for the Council were launched at the Madison Square Garden mass meeting, over 15,000 people cheered the announcement as the climax of the epoch-making Conference.

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THE PURPOSE OF THE COUNCIL

The purpose of the Council as expressed in the Resolutions adopted by the First American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace is:

I. To secure an early, democratic and general peace in harmony with the principals outlined by New Russia, namely:

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II. To urge international organization for the maintenance of world peace.

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A CHALLENGE

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I challenge any person to state any reason or cause which will serve as sufficient or adequate ground for declaration of war by one nation to another **in these days.**

Causes of war are disputes and should be settled by arbitration or legal procedure. What are some of the causes of war as represented to the public?

First: Circumstances or events that involve national honor.

Wherein does killing by wholesale—the massacre of millions of the enemy and perhaps as many of your own people—the bombing of villages, town and cities,—retrieve or avenge or **maintain** the honor of any nation? Does it not drag honor in the mire? Is honor more likely to be maintained by persons "seeing red" or by the calm and deliberate procedure of arbitration by the best minds among a nation's people?

Second: Circumstances or conditions involving vital interests.

Wherein are vital interests furthered or maintained by collective homicide, the sacrifice of millions of persons innocent of wrongdoing or thought toward each other? Does it not seem reasonable to assume that the vital interests of any nation would be far better sustained by peaceable procedures ensuring the preservation of property rather than by destructive methods?

Third: The preservation of rights in a foreign country.

Again I ask, wherein does the extermination of legions of lives—the greatest possible number of opponents that can be killed—maintain with justice the rights of any foreigners in a land other than their own? If the laws or practices of any land do not suit, let foreigners keep away. We claim the right to make laws to suit ourselves. We must grant that same right to every other country. Why should any country dare to claim the right to interfere with or dictate the laws of another?

There are causes of war which are not publicly announced but which are falsely represented as national honor; vital interests, et cetera. To misrepresent these to the people of any country by false propaganda is the most gigantic betrayal, the must colossal wrong, that can be perpetrated upon a people.

That is what was done in every country before the world war, for as Lord Robert Cecil has said: "If the situation had been known to

SEP 18 1978

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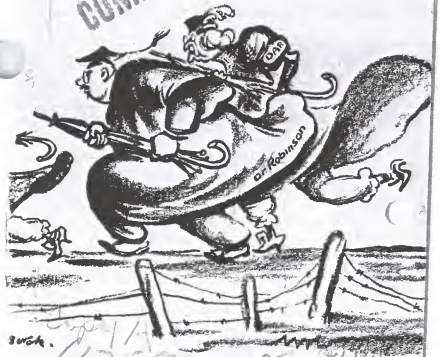

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THE BEGINNINGS
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Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph. D.

Author of

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WAR RESISTANCE SINCE 1937

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE BEGINNINGS OF WAR RESISTANCE

Mnch water has flowed nnder the hridge since January, 1937, and the water has heen muddy and turhulent.

The unprecedented policies of aggression pursned by the dictator governments have hronght ahout a revival of the World War slogan, "Make the World Safe for Democracy." After the hreakdown of the League of Nations and the tragedy of Munich, the cry was for collective security, raised once more hy the same groups who pinned their faith to the Covenant of 1919. The terrifying events of 1940 have carried our own conntry to the verge of a war hysteria of which conscription is the first indication. The distinction is again clearly drawn hetween the liberal peace advocates, who trust in governments and stand ready to snpport a "justifiahle" war, and the pacifists, who oppose all war withont exception.

The Communist "New Line"

On the other hand, striking transformations have come ahout in the attitude of Communist anti-militarists, in conseqnence of the varions changes in policy of the Third International (Comintern).

The "new Communist line" authorized by Moscow in 1935 not only included cooperation for collective security with so-called democratic governments, but prescrihed snpport of these governments hy Communists everywhere, with a shift of emphasis from revolntionary agitation to political liheralism. Accordingly the American Commnnist Party lost no time in allying itself with the Democrats and the "New Deal" and vigoronsly supporting Roosevelt's demands for rearmament against Nazi aggression.

In harmony with this change in Communist policy, the *American League Against War and Fascism,* under the new name of *American League for Peace and Democracy,* never definitely pacifist, departed even farther from the policies of war resistance than had heen indicated by its original position. While it never literally endorsed conscription or the participation of our conntry in foreign wars, it took a definite stand for collective security and for defensive war in Spain and China, urged the adoption of sanctions against the aggressor and refrained from opposing either the excessive rearmament program or the proposed fortification of Guam.

The Newer Communist Line

In Augnst, 1939, however, Soviet Russia joined hands with Hitler and proceeded to the invasion, first of Poland, and later of Finland. As Rnssia thns took its place as an aggressor nation allied with Fascism, the policies of collective security and American rearmament were now directed against the Soviet Repuhlic rather than in its defense. Immediately, therefore, the Commnnist Party renounced its snpport of Roosevelt's war preparations and adopted a platform of "Keeping America Ont of War".

Early in 1940, the American League for Peace and Democracy, whose close connection with Commnnism had been puhlicised hy the Dies Committee, suddenly dissolved its organization, not without suggestions of a possihle rebirth under a new name.

The Newest Communist Line

With the nnexpectedly rapid advance of Hitler and the crushing of France, Russia's policy changed toward a form of "nentrality" with some cooling off toward Germany. Accordingly, the American Communists in June, 1940, began once again to nse anti-Hitler phraseology, while continuing its policy of opposition to the National Defense Program and to American participation in the war. In this connection, it was the leading spirit of the American Peace Mohilization in Chicago in September.

Youth

The yonth movement against militarism could not have failed to he seriously affected hy these changes in Commnnist policy, as the *American Student Union,* the moving force in the student strikes against war, is largely nnder the leadership of Communist sympathizers. As the movement gradnally changed its emphasis from agitation against war to advocacy of collective security against the aggressor nations, a hreach naturally developed hetween the Communists and League of Nations snpporters on the one hand, and the opponents of collective security on the other. The difference came to a head at the *World Youth Congress* in 1938. *The Youth Committee Against War,* fonnded earlier in that year, hecame the youth section of the *Keep America Out of War Congress* and since

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Mars and his Aliases

by Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph.D

Recently I attended a meeting called by a Peace Club of college students. It began with long resolutions against war and ended in enthusiastic applause for war,- and this with no realization of a change of front. Mars had disguised himself; that was all.

Have you seen "Amphitryon 38", the Lunts' new play? It tells again the old story of how Jupiter, having easily won over such a simple soul as Leda by metamorphosing himself into a swan, was forced to a subtler device for the conquest of the faithful wife Alcmena, and thereafter took on the form of her own beloved husband Amphitryon.

Mars, the twentieth century divinity, is no less Macchiavellian. When the ancient trapping of military glory and even national honor proved too crude for us moderns, he adopted new forms of camouflage. In 1914-1918 he scored such a big success in the roles of anti-(German)-militarist, protector of weak nations and defender of democracy that he is appearing again to wildly applauding audiences, with only such changes of costume as are needed to fit the fashions of 1937.

These revived roles are particularly effective. Largely as a result of the successes of twenty years ago, German militarism is more terrifying than ever, weak nations are now being invaded in direct defiance of the world, and democracy is openly menaced by frank and aggressive dictatorships. With a few changes in proper names,- Hitler for the Kaiser, Spain and China for Belgium, Fascism for absolute monarchy,- and with democracy, (a bit frazzled to be sure) still in the role of distressed heroine, the play goes merrily on, before we are well through paying the bills for the last performance.

What I mean in plain words is this. Belgium would now be safer from German militarism if the United States had never become a belligerent, and if the World War had end-

X-JX 1965
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Hôtel de Russie, Geneva,
April 5, 1938.

COMMUNICATION
from the
WOMEN'S CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

To the League of Nations Committee of Experts on the Status of Women :-

The following women's international organisations, although having widely different programmes of work, are united in supporting equality of rights between men and women and therefore unite in presenting the following communication to the Committee of Experts on the Status of Women:-

Great encouragement has been given to women by the plan of the League of Nations for consideration of the status of women throughout the world. We feel that the bringing of this question before the League of Nations is an important step in the history of women's emancipation.

The examination of the status of women all over the world is awaited by women with the greatest impatience and interest. Never was it more necessary for the nations to get together to discuss how the position of women might be improved. It is a subject involving conflicting legal systems and multifarious tribal and customary practices within and without the law, and is, thus, not an abstract question but one of practical importance.

Forces of reaction are at work in many parts of the world restricting and denying to women liberties and independence hardly won - in particular the one essential of independence, the right to engage in remunerative occupations. Far and wide the right to paid employment is being attacked by legislative restrictions applying only to women. When the women who have been in the forefront are losing ground in this way, it is doubly difficult to raise the status of those who are so backward as to be verging upon a state of slavery.

There is in the documents of the League ample information regarding woman's franchise position in the various countries. We ask your Committee to examine this material and to vote a recommendation that equality of voting rights for men and women be made a condition for membership in the League of Nations as proposed in the document which was brought before the last Assembly at the instance of 15 Delegations, reading :

> "The Members of the League undertake that in their respective countries the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on the ground of sex", (see League document A.8.1937.V.).

We call to your attention also the other equality proposals which were brought before the last Assembly at the request of the same 15 Delegations, and we ask your Committee to recommend favorable action upon them. (see League document A.8.1937.V.).

We also ask your Committee to base, upon the data about to be collated, a recommendation that the Assembly present to all States of the World the Treaty guaranteeing equal rights for men and women signed by 4

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He Laid down His Life

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THAT WE MIGHT LIVE

By

MERLE EYLES

War Resisters League

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL
11 ABBEY ROAD, ENFIELD, MIDDX.
ENGLAND

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CALL FOR UNITED PACIFIST CONFERENCE

March 29-30, 1941

AT LABOR TEMPLE

Fourteenth Street and Second Avenue, New York City

THE call for the United Pacifist Conference held in February 1940 said: "If the war in Europe and Asia is not stopped in the next few weeks, it is likely to spread and be intensified — with results that stagger the imagination. In our own country plans are being made for a presidential election that may be as fateful as that of 1916." All the world knows now how the Blitzkrieg in Norway, Holland, Belgium, France and other tragic events proved how well founded was our foreboding a year ago. In last fall's election both candidates proclaimed that they were opposed to involvement of this country in actual warfare. True to the pattern of 1916-1917, however, President Roosevelt opened his third term with an address in which he gave the green light to the Churchill cabinet for an all-out war against Germany, in which the United States would become the "arsenal of democracy" and which would not end until the United States and Great Britain were in a position to dictate the terms of peace. The phrase "short of war" is now ominously omitted from the President's references to aid to Britain. If 1940 was America's 1916, the year 1941 may become its 1917!

Thus the pacifist movement, which has again made notable gains in membership and activity during the past year, is also confronted with a much vaster task and a more momentous challenge. How may we even now more effectively show the masses of people in this nation that they are being lured or driven into the war which they dread? How may we tackle in a statesman-like fashion and with the utmost possible unity the problems which confront conscientious objectors and pacifists generally under the conscription act? How can we stop the movement to fasten permanent universal compulsory service on this nation? How discharge our responsibilities to the C.O.'s who are in jail today for conscience' sake and to other men and their families who will be made to suffer for their pacifism? How can we make our American pacifist movement, like Gandhi's movement in India, a genuine mass movement to achieve basic social changes and build a new world in the spirit and by the method of non-violence?

The groups which sponsored the United Pacifist Conferences in 1938, 1939, 1940, know the profound concern felt by pacifists about these and related problems and therefore arranged for a Conference this year. Plans for the mobilization on Washington for the same week-end caused us to postpone our Washington's Birthday Conference to the week-end of Saturday afternoon, March 29th, through Sunday evening, March 30th, 1941.

UNITED PACIFIST COMMITTEE

A. J. MUSTE, *Chairman* ABRAHAM KAUFMAN, *Secretary*

The organizations participating in the work of the United Pacifist Committee include:

Fellowship of Reconciliation
New History Society
Pax (A Group of Catholic Conscientious Objectors)
Religious Society of Friends, Peace Committee
Secretary of Peace League
War Resisters League
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (N. Y. State)
Women's Peace Union

HX-2-3771

May 11, 1942

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Dear Friend:

We are sure that you will be interested to know of our open meeting next week, Sunday evening, May 17th, at the Friends House, to be addressed by the great teacher and author, member of the National Committee of the War Resisters League, George W. Hartmann, Professor of Social Psychology at Teachers College of Columbia University. Dr. Hartmann's topic is of special interest, we feel, to all pacifists and liberals at the present time.

During war, pacifism as a method of life, is open to a most critical examination by non-pacifists as to its meaning, spirit, purpose and practicability. And during war, pacifism is subjected to careful scrutiny even by those who hold it as a belief.

Professor Hartmann's topic - "Interpreting Pacifism to Non-Pacifists in Wartime" - deals with problems that many have found perplexing. Its purpose is to say the things that explain to the non-pacifists in today's world the actions and beliefs of the pacifists.

Whether you are a pacifist or not, we hope you will come to this meeting, and bring your friends. Certainly it is true that understanding and enlightenment are the key to many of the present problems of the peoples of the world. We invite you to join us in beginning the task of spreading some measure of this understanding and enlightenment by means of this meeting.

May we repeat the details:-----

PROFESSOR
GEORGE W. HARTMANN
of Columbia University

"Interpreting Pacifism to Non-Pacifists in Wartime"

At the
Friends Meeting House
2111 Florida Avenue, N.W.

On Sunday, May 17, at 8:00 P.M. Sharp.

All Invited

Very truly yours,
CONTINUATIONS COMMITTEE

WE ARE REVISING OUR MAILING LIST

If you wish to receive future issues of the "Washington Pacifist", and our other regular mailings, will you please indicate your interest by filling out and returning this card.

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ADDRESS.....

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Washington Area War Resisters League

PACIFIST

Oct. 1942

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Area War Resisters League

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R FREEDOMS

itten and said about the ... ed the doctrine of the Four ... arise out of a victory for ... to gain support for a bitter end war of those for whom fear and greed and hate are not enough.

The pacifist cannot agree that these ends, valid in themselve can be obtained by means of war. But can he offer the world a better way? It is our purpose to show that he can.

During the forthcoming weeks the Washington Area War Resisters League is presenting a series of lectures on Pacifism and the Four Freedoms, to be given on successive Sunday evenings at the Friends Meeting House, 2111 Florida Avenue, N. W. The speakers are pacifists of varied and interesting backgrounds.

Rev. A. J. MUSTE, our first speaker, will discuss Freedom of Religion on October 18th.

Ordained to the ministry in 1909, he resigned under pressure from the Central Congregational Church of Newtonville, Mass., during the first World War, refusing to keep silent about his religious pacifist convictions. He has been prominent in the leadership of many labor campaigns and strikes. He was General Secretary of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America from 1919 to 1921, and Director of Brookwood Labor College 1921-33.
One of the outstanding leaders of the Trotskyist section of the Communist movement in the United States, he resigned in 1936 upon again becoming convinced of the self-defeating character of the resort to violence. Having returned to a thoro religious pacifist position, he is now Director of the Presbyterian Labor Temple, New York City, and Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Rabbi ISIDORE B. HOFFMAN will talk on Freedom from Want on October 25th. Rabbi Hoffman was a graduate student in the American School of Oriental Research ... member of the National Committee on Conscientious Objectors of the American Civil Liberties Union and of the Executive Committee of the National Religion and Labor Foundation. He was one of the organzers of the Jewish Peace Fellowship. He has been Student Counsellor at Columbia University for the past eight years.

MORRIS MILGRAM, who will speak on Freedom from Tyranny November 1st, has been active in the youth and Labor movements since his college days. He was expelled from the College of the City of New York as a ring-leader of a student protest against an official reception to Italian fascists in 1935. He was jailed in Jersey City in 19[illegible] for distributing trade union leaflets.
Now National Secretary of the Workers Defense League, Mr. Milgram directed the national campaign in the recent Odell Waller case, and organized the successful effort to free Panchelly, Woodworth, and Brown, seamen victims of a Hague frameup. He is also a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and has recently accepted membership on the Board of Directors of "The Cons...

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LAURENCE HOUSMAN, *Chairman*
H. RUNHAM BROWN, *Honorary Secretary*

AFFILIATED WITH THE
WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

11 ABBEY ROAD, ENFIELD
MIDDLESEX, ENGLAND

The WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

Room 414 • 2 Stone Street
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

[illegible]ANK OLMSTEAD, *Field Work Director*
FRANCES ROSE RANSOM, *Membership Secretary*

Address General Communications to:
JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN, *Secretary or*
ABRAHAM KAUFMAN, *Executive Secretary*

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Dear Companion on the way to Freedom,

It is near midnight as I write this in my 34th Street room, and not many minutes ago, Evan Thomas, Bob Brooks, Abe Kaufman and I were having a snack at a 42nd Street Childs Restaurant, discussing the W.R.L. Evan said that he thought the most important service we are giving right now is helping individual CO's who are in trouble. They certainly flock to us, partly because we are accessible, being open evenings and all day Saturday, and partly because we try to be constantly set for such service.

We recognized, as we talked on, that we can be doing all that fine service and yet be failing. This is a period that demands from us the utmost in courageous thinking and action. The other night, Evan, Bob and I sat up into the wee small hours trying to re-define our W.R.L. purposes and function. The cost of progress involves many such sessions for many of us.

We believe that the fallacies of the war method show up more clearly as we approach the end of this dreadful convulsion. It is apparent that freedom to know the human race as a family is the heart of progress and that war, starting as a means to keep limits on such freedom, becomes itself the chief foe of freedom. Similarly we see conscription as inseparable from total war, an indispensible aid to totalitarianism with which we can do business only with tragic consequences to ourselves and our cause.

We feel that 1944 is due to be the greatest year in W.R.L. history. We should have more new members, more contributions, more significant literature, and a more vigorous and fearless campaign against war and all of its manifestations.

The first step to this end involves us all. We must straightway provide the $1,400. of new gifts to finish the year without debt and we must resolve now to increase our W.R.L. budget for 1944.

Will you get a check to us before Armistice Day, November 11th? This is true giving, since it does not reduce our taxes. Almost I am glad that it is not made easy. Such giving is a prayer that comes from our hearts and links with the Heart of the Universe.

Yours for new freedom,

[illegible]

October 21, 1943

EVAN W. THOMAS, *Chairman*

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[illegible]HN HOWLAND LATHROP
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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

Tenth Congress of the W.I.L.P.F.

Luxemburg, 4 - 9 August 1946

D[illegible] Friends and Co-workers,

In opening the 10th Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, I must confess to many conflicting emotions. After a break of almost ten years, years of inexpressible [illegible], years of [illegible] isolation for some of us, and at least [illegible] for all, I feel happy that we can again meet [illegible] the [illegible] of our common cause. That we are able [illegible] deeply grateful. I want to thank first of all the country [illegible], the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, which [illegible] has thrown open its doors to us in [illegible] in the past. We were not merely [illegible] by the Government of this country [illegible] generous help in every detail. We are particularly indebted to Madame Clement and her whole [illegible] co-workers for their support which in its efficiency [illegible] has been beyond praise and invaluable to us. [illegible] neither Madame Clement nor the [illegible] organising committee are co-workers in the [illegible] of the word, i.e. members of the W.I.L.P.F.. They have put themselves at our disposal, as women who have experienced the [illegible] of war and who therefore long for peace. This Congress should endeavour, among other things, to state what this organisation aims at so clearly and so convincingly that our friends, after lending us their invaluable aid in preparing this Congress, will want to join the Women's Peace Movement by becoming members of the W.I.L.P.F.

[illegible] I am deeply grateful to know at long last the terrible, [illegible] terrible instruments of destruction have been brought to a stop, that we may feel free from the nightmare of evermore devastating [illegible] and distress sweeping over peoples and countries. I am deeply grateful, moreover, for the feeling we had [illegible] years, that, however far apart we were in body, we were near to each other in thought. We did not always [illegible], our social and religious outlook, our political [illegible] were apt to clash; we did not always see [illegible] in our [illegible] work and [illegible] in the future. But in fundamental [illegible] matter most deeply, in our fight for a [illegible] between [illegible] peoples of the world, we have [illegible] at heart. [illegible], we have not been disappointed.

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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

REPORT TO TENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE WILPF
Meeting at Luxembourg, August 4-9,1946,
BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE AMERICAS
(abridged version)

Although partial reports have been sent at regular intervals to the international officers, this is the first comprehensive report to be made since 1937, hence it covers 9 years of activity.

To begin with, it is well to review just what the "Committee on the Americas" is. Formerly called the "Inter-American Committee", the name was changed in 1938 to avoid confusion with the official "Inter-American Commission of Women". This Committee, responsible to the international Co-Chairman, was intended to have one representative in each country of America, who would spread a knowledge of WILPF principles and endeavor to form a National Section. The expense of this work has always been carried by the U.S.Section, usually about $ 125 a year.

Besides its long-range objective, the Committee tries to help all the Latin American women it can reach to solve their own political and social problems and those of the Western Hemisphere. It also tries to secure more participation by the Latin American nations in the settling of current inter-American questions.

Let us now review some of the specific work that has been done on these problems. In several cases where there were boundary disputes in an acute or dangerous stage, your chairman has written to or talked with women from both countries concerned, urging them to work against inflamed public sentiment and for a calm consideration of issues involved. She has also asked other members of the Committee and organizations of Latin American women to do the same, and frequently urged the U.S. Department of State to use its good offices. This was done in connection with relations between Bolivia and Paraguay, Colombia and Venezuela,Haiti and the Dominican Republic, Honduras and Nicaragua, and notably in the case of the Ecuador-Peru boundary dispute, which called for many consultations and representations before government officials.

A continuous struggle has been waged by your chairman, especially in her capacity as Coordinator of Inter-American Work for the U.S. Section, to eradicate the imperialist phases of U.S. policy and make the Good Neighbor Policy a reality. In 1937 we urged a new attitude toward Cuba, which would give her a free hand in working out her own destiny. Relations with Mexico have demanded almost continuous attention, including such matters as a fair attitude toward the Mexican expropriation of Petroleum and agricultural properties belonging to American investors; the settlement of an old dispute concerning a small area bordering on the State of Texas; and not least of all, the defense of the rights of Mexican laborers who have come to the United States.

We have also defended the rights of Negro workers who were being discriminated against in work on the construction of U.S.army and navy bases in the Caribbean islands. In 1943 we held a conference, in New York City, on Economic and Social Problems in the Caribbean.

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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

CONGRESS LUXEMBURG

To the representatives of the twenty one Governments assembled at the Peace Conference in Paris, August 1946.

Gentlemen:-

We, 200 women of some twenty countries gathered in Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom now meeting in Luxembourg voice the ardent longing for peace of every man and woman in the world and solemnly make our appeal to you as the bearers of a heavy responsibility.

It is with great anxiety that we see prolonged the state of unrest caused by the unhappy delays in reaching agreement in the peace treaties.

Our first appeal to you is to base these treaties on the respect for the dignity of the human personality and on human rights - a respect not conceived in the spirit of atomistic individualism but as an essential element in the new socially organized community.

A Charter of Human Rights should be an integral part of every peace treaty, and each of the States concerned should be required to incorporate this in its constitution.

After our twentyfive years' experience of the evils produced by treaties which ignored the economic consequences of political decisions, often drawing frontier lines without any regard for their effect on every day social and economic life, we appeal to you not to allow national interests, economic advantage and prestige to determine the decisions of the Conference, but to act as trustees of the human race as one unit.

The world is sick with longing for an atmosphere of confidence and security.

It is in your hands, gentlemen, to take decisive steps toward creating a world free from fear and free from want- a world in which every human being, however humble, wherever placed, feels secure, politically free, socially safe, in a position, economically, to plan his or her life ahead and in matters of education enjoying full and equal opportunities.

Only if conceived with this highest purpose in mind can the treaties now being concluded safeguard a just and durable peace.

In the name of the 10th Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,

Yours faithfully,
Emily G. Balch
International Honorary President,
Clara Ragaz

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

THE VICE-PRESIDENTS' REPORT

International Executive Committee
Geneva, July 8-13, 1948

Dear friends,

Here we meet again, the members of the Executive Committee after 14 months of separation. We are happy to meet again and to be able to confer upon the work we have in common. Your vice-presidents are even happier than the other members of the Executive, because - even though we think we have not done enough - we have felt our responsibility as a burden during this long time between the two conferences. We feel too that we are handicapped by the long distances and by having to correspond to get at every decision. In the first place we ask you to forgive that we have not been able to cope with everything we ought to have undertaken. The League ought to have taken action in many other questions than we have. The vice-presidents don't have so much time to spare for the League because of the increasing responsibilities within our professions.

We are sorry to say that some of our members are not here first we mention Miss Balch, who had to leave Europe after her visit to Scandinavia, Germany and Great Britain. Miss Madeleine Rolland is still hindered by the accident she had. Mrs. Mildred Olmsted and Dr Bussey have sent their regrets not being able to join us.

Here comes the message from Miss Balch:

The activity of the League has been rather good and one of the essential things is the reports with UNO. We thank Gertrude Baer for those.

Gertrude Baer, who is our liaison officer at UNO, has succeeded by her contacts and many demarches to obtain Consultative Status with UNO for our League at the 5th of March 1948. At this opening of the Executive meeting we wish to thank her for what she has done. This Friday she is going to talk about the outstanding work she has done in UNO before the above mentioned date and afterwards. Her Circular Letters and other documents we have already obtained and they have proved on us the important work that is done at Lake Success. The other non-governmental organizations even have reproached us for being disloyal because she has intervened too often.

The work of the Political Committee within the American Section has been very efficient. Especially it had studied the set-up of the Marshall Plan in Europe. Our League has had the opportunity of officially giving advice and of discussing this matter, for which

We now give a list of the actions/the Vice-Presidents are responsible:

IX 1965

LIGUE INTERNATIONALE DE FEMMES POUR LA PAIX ET LA LIBERTE

Comité Exécutif International, Genève juillet 1948

LA FEDERATION EUROPEENNE, PREMIERE ETAPE VERS UNE FEDERATION MONDIALE

(Rapport d'Andrée Jouve)

Je dis Fédération et non Union, je dis Fédération européenne et non occidentale - ces nuances, comme vous le verrez, ont leur importance. Avant tout les Fédéralistes veulent rassembler l'Europe entière - et même plus que l'Europe - ils refusent d'accepter la division du monde - et de l'Europe - en deux blocs hostiles.

Réalité proche

1. Ils partent de réalités tout à fait proches. Entre deux très grandes puissances qui semblaient gagner du terrain à ses dépens, la vieille Europe ruinée par la guerre, piétinée, écrasée, réduite par une pression qui s'exerce de l'Est et de l'Ouest, cherche le moyen de revivre et d'arrêter par sa présence et sa résistance un terrible conflit qui se dénouerait sur son sol et dont elle serait victime. Le danger est si évident que même les gouvernements voient qu'ils sont obligés de sacrifier à cette idée. C'est un fait qu'ils commencent déjà à renoncer à une part de leur souveraineté: des tentatives comme celles des 16 ou des 5, si imparfaites, si partielles soient-elles sont des commencements. L'Europe est en train de se faire. Si les peuples ne poussent pas les gouvernements dans le sens du fédéralisme, l'Europe s'unifiera sans les fédéralistes et nous verrons que ce n'est pas sans danger.

Historique

2. Ce n'est pas une idée nouvelle. Il y a eu dans le passé plusieurs tentatives pour unifier - sinon fédéraliser - l'Europe, et il faut se le rappeler pour condamner certaines formes d'unification.

Il y a d'abord à travers l'histoire,

a) les puissances qui tendent à unifier l'Europe sous la domination d'un Etat, d'un conquérant, d'une race, c'est la tentative absolutiste: l'Empire Romain, Napoléon I, les pangermanistes avec Guillaume II et Hitler ont nettement visé ce but. Ils ont échoué. Mais dans nos temps modernes, nous pouvons craindre une domination économique également conquérante: l'expansion américaine.

b) les puissances religieuses ou idéologiques ont aussi tenté de conquérir l'Europe, de lui imposer un credo sous leur domination. C'est le cas de l'Eglise catholique au Moyen Age qui voulait unir toute la chrétienté. Elle a échoué, puisqu'elle s'est divisée en trois groupes et s'est heurtée à la naissance des nations. C'est encore le cas de la conquête arabe du VIIème siècle qui aurait fait de l'Europe un Etat musulman si elle avait réussi. Enfin la Révolution française, avec le même esprit de propagande, a voulu imposer par les armes son idéologie: les droits de l'homme et la liberté. Actuellement l'idéologie communiste, sous sa forme soviétique, tend elle aussi non seulement à se répandre mais à s'imposer dans toute l'Europe, - et au delà, dans le monde africain et asiatique. Les idéologies ne peuvent

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

International Executive Committee
Geneva July 1948

INTERIM REPORT TO INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF WILPF

by Chairman of Committee on the Americas

(Heloise Brainerd, USA)

During the two years since the International Congress at Luxembourg, your Chairman has spent most of her time on the Inter-American Congress of Women, held at Guatemala City in August, 1947. Although this was a project of the US Section, you will be interested to know that, in spite of many obstacles, it did take place and was epoch-making in certain respects. It was the first time that such a congress had been held in the Americas on a completely democratic basis, as every known association of women in the hemisphere was invited. There were present a total of 68 delegates, from 18 countries, representing some 80 organizations. Through the efforts of the US Section of the WILPF, about $ 3.800 were raised for Congress expenses, in addition to some collected by the Guatemalan Committee.

One of the Congress resolutions created a Federation of Women of the Americas. The Secretariat of three (Annalee Stewart, Carmen de Lozada of Bolivia, and myself) is making some progress in getting this Federation on its feet, and hopes it may be possible to hold another such congress in 1949 or 1950.

During the last year a Spanish leaflet describing the WILPF has been revised and reprinted, and a Spanish membership blank printed. These two cost the US Section $ 117; the Section also contributes about $ 150 a year to the regular inter-American work.

At the present time, there are 13 Latin American Associate Members, paying $ 5 a year each, and one National Section (Brazil). A section is in process of formation in Chile, and preliminary work has been done in Puerto Rico. Nominal groups or committees exist in five countries (Costa Rica, Cuba, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua). As a result of propaganda against our women's congress, the Guatemalan group closed up.

The Committee on the Americas was reorganized, as authorized by the Luxembourg Congress. It now consists of nine members, six of whom are Latin Americans and three from the United States. (List appended) A woman from El Salvador, Sra. de Wolter, was added in 1947, with the approval of the two co-chairmen, and Dr. Justo of Argentina was recently invited to serve, but has not been heard from, due no doubt to conditions in Argentina.

I now propose Mme. Madeleine Sylvain Bouchereau of Haiti, who has long been interested in the WILPF and has carried on similar work in Haiti, besides making a notable contribution in rural education. In 1945 she was in Europe for several months, with the UNRRA.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

International Executive Committee
Geneva July 1948

P A L E S T I N E

(Dorothy C.M.Warner, Gt.Britain)

I take it that the object of the introductory speaker to our discussions is not to set up a rigid framework of opinions or historical events, not to suggest any sort of detailed policy, but is rather to prepare the stage as it were - to introduce actors and the sets, to pull up the curtain and then to leave it to the Committee to take on the direction of the discussion.

You will understand that it has not been easy to decide what to say - nor indeed how one should say it! The subject is one of very great complexity and at present is charged with emotion and prejudice and besides this, during the recent days when I have been doing the necessary preparatory reading and thought, the whole immediate situation has been obscure to a world waiting anxiously for news of Count Bernadotte's proposals and of their reception alike by Jew and Arab. While the fundamental problem is firmly established on certain inescapable facts of physical and psychological kinds, the immediate position is completely unstable and fluid.

It has seemed best to me not to attempt to lead us again over old ground of ancient or recent history, probably familiar to you all, nor to take up in detail any particular aspect of the problem nor any special set of circumstances or events. In the discussion this may be necessary, but while it can be avoided I shall do so. What I shall try to do is firstly very briefly to show you what I conceive to be the fundamental problem, secondly to remind you of some of the varied and sometimes incompatible sides of the problem - or what we consider as secondary or derivative problems, and finally to make a few observations about what ways may lie ahead.

I must thus necessarily be brief and even superficial. I hope that this can be made good during our subsequent discussion - a discussion which I hope may lead us forward and not be devoted to a critical consideration only of the past.

The Problem

In essence - and this you will later see is very different from the surface appearances - I think that it is - or should be - the problem of the relations - the daily human, social relations - between the Jews and Arabs of the Middle East. That sounds speciously simple - even naive -. But that is, in my view, because of the way that this essential question has been overlaid, distorted, and exploited by other problems and other powers. What makes the problem today so difficult, so fraught with danger not only to individual lives in Palestine but to the future peace even of the whole world is precisely this fact that extraneous circumstances have condensed this problem - compressed it like an explosive gas - into the tiny geographical area of Palestine - Only as I worked through various books and documents

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Paris, 12 décembre 1948

Ce n'est pas au titre de Vice-Présidente internationale de la Ligue que je vous raconte cette histoire vraie, c'est à titre personnel et pour votre information. Je m'abstiendrai de toute appréciation et vous demanderai de bien vouloir me communiquer vos réflexions et tirer, pour la Ligue, les conséquences qui vous paraissent s'imposer.

LE MOUVEMENT GARRY DAVIS

Un jeune Américain, fils d'un chef d'orchestre, acteur de son métier, pilote-bombardier pendant la dernière guerre: "Sept missions au-dessus de l'Allemagne. Touché par la D.C.A. au dessus de Peenemunde. Mon avion s'écrase en Suède. Je m'échappe et rejoins l'Ecosse, puis les Etats-Unis où je deviens instructeur..... Un an après ma démobilisation, je me rendis compte que nous retournions à l'état de guerre. On n'avait, par exemple, jamais cessé de fabriquer des bombes atomiques. Je ne me sentais même pas en sécurité dans le plus grand pays du monde.... Quelqu'un devait élever la voix. Je n'étais peut-être pas très compétent, mais quelqu'un devait le faire. Aussi je l'ai fait." Il a dit aussi: "Je n'entends rien à la politique."

En effet au début de septembre 1948, Garry Davis se rend à l'ambassade américaine de Paris, et à la stupéfaction du personnel, rend son passeport américain et affirme que ce n'est pas parcequ'il veut acquérir une autre nationalité, car il est bien certain qu'aucun passeport ne le préserverait de la guerre. Et il se déclare citoyen du monde.

Son permis de séjour français expirant le 20 septembre, il cherche quel est le territoire international qui pourrait accueillir un citoyen du monde. Il n'en est d'autre que l'ONU. Il va donc demander asile à l'ONU et, en attendant sa décision, s'installe sur les marches du Palais de Chaillot. Il était seul d'abord. Dans les journaux, on l'appelait "le Fol de Chaillot" (allusion à la pièce de Giraudoux). Mais dans son mauvais français, il expliquait aux curieux qui venaient le voir, qu'il voulait être "citoyen du monde", que seule l'unité du monde nous préserverait de la guerre à jamais. Et bientôt, le petit peuple de Paris l'entoure et le soutint: un menuisier du quartier lui fit un lit de bois, les uns lui apportaient du pain, les autres des bananes et des pommes ou un verre de vin. Cela dura du 12 au 17 septembre, mais ce jour-là, Garry Davis fut expulsé de l'ONU par la police. Il n'y avait de place nulle part pour le "citoyen du monde". Qu'adviendrait-il de lui, quand son permis de séjour en France serait expiré? - Le ministre de l'Intérieur le lui prolongea spontanément pour 3 mois - Ce n'est pas cela que je veux, répétait Davis, il faut faire un statut aux "citoyens du monde."

Mais on commence à le prendre au sérieux, le 22 octobre, un groupe de 20 écrivains français connus se déclarent prêts à le soutenir, formant le premier noyau d'un mouvement qui va s'étendre avec une rapidité incroyable. Ce Conseil de solidarité explique ainsi sa position: "Par notre adhésion, chacun a voulu se tenir aux côtés de Davis, attirer l'attention de l'opinion publique internationale sur la signification de ses actes et participer activement à résoudre avec lui les difficultés que ses actes pourraient lui valoir."

Paris, 12.Dezember 1948

Nicht als Vizepraesidentin der Liga erzaehle ich Ihnen diese wahre Geschichte, sondern rein persoenlich und zu Ihrer Information. Ich will jede Bewertung vermeiden und Sie nur bitten, mir Ihre Reaktion mitzuteilen und Ihre Schluesse daraus zu ziehen fuer die Liga.

DIE GARRY DAVIS BEWEGUNG.

Ein junger amerikanischer Schauspieler, Sohn eines Dirigenten, Fliegeroffizier waehrend des letzten Krieges: "Siebenmal ueber Deutschland, verwundet von Flak ueber Pienemuende. Mein Flugzeug stuerzt ueber Schweden ab. Ich fliehe und finde mein Bataillon wieder. Danach zurueck nach den Vereinigten Staaten, wo ich Truppen ausbilde.... Ein Jahr nach meiner Demobilisation wird mir bewusst, dass wir in den Kriegszustand zurueckkehren. Man hat, z.B., nie aufgehoert, Atombomben zu fabrizieren. Ich fuehlte mich selbst in dem groessten Land der Welt nicht sicher..... Jemand sollte seine Stimme erheben, Ich war vielleicht nicht kompetent es zu tun, aber irgendjemand sollte es tun. So tat ich es!" Ausserdem sagte er: "Ich verstehe nichts von Politik."

Tatsaechlich begab sich Garry Davis Anfang September 1948 auf die amerikanische Botschaft in Paris und - zur Bestuerzung des Personals - gab er seinen amerikanischen Pass dort zurueck, indem er erklaerte, dass er das nicht tue, um eine andere Staatsangehoerigkeit zu erwerben, denn das ersetze ihn auch nicht vor dem Krieg. Er tue es, weil er Weltbuerger sein wolle.

Da seine franzoesische Aufenthaltserlaubnis am 20.September ablief, sucht er nach einem internationalen Gebiet, das einem Weltbuerger aufnehmen koenne. Es gibt nur eins, das der UNO. Er bittet also um Asyl bei der UNO und, waehrend er auf ihre Antwort wartet, installiert er sich auf den Treppen des Palais Chaillot. Er ist ganz allein. In den Zeitungen nennt man ihn den "Narren von Chaillot," nach einem Theaterstueck von Giraudoux. In seinem schlechten Franzoesisch erklaert er der neugierigen Menge, die sich versammelt, um ihn zu sehen, dass er "Weltbuerger" sein will, dass einzig und allein Einigkeit in der Welt uns vor einem neuen Krieg fuer immer bewahrt. Sehr bald schliessen die Pariser ihn ins Herz und unterstuetzen ihn: ein Schreiner macht ihm ein Bett aus Holz, einige bringen ihm Brot, andere Bananen, Aepfel oder ein Glas Wein. Das dauert vom 12-17.September, dem Tag, an dem Garry Davis von der Polizei aus dem Gebiet der UNO gewiesen wird. Es ist dort keinerlei Platz fuer den "Weltbuerger." Was wird geschehen, wenn seine franzoesische Aufenthaltsbewilligung erlischt? Der Innenminister verlaengert sie spontan um drei Monate. Aber das ist nicht das, was er will, sagt Davis, man muss ein Statut fuer Weltbuerger schaffen.

Man faengt an, ihn ernst zu nehmen. Am 22.Oktober erklaeren sich 20 bekannte franzoesische Schriftsteller bereit, ihn zu unterstuetzen und bilden so den Anfag einer neuen Bewegung, die sich mit unglaublicher Geschwindigkeit verbreitet. Dieser sogenannte "Solidaritaetsrat" erklaert seine Einstellung folgendermassen: "Jedes Mitglied erklaert sich identisch mit Davis' Ideen und will die Aufmerksamkeit der internationalen oeffentlichen Meinung auf die Bedeutung seiner Handlungen lenken. Jedes Mitglied will sich aktiv an der Loesung der Schwierigkeiten beteiligen, die seine Handlungen fuer ihn nach sich ziehen moegen."